DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 270 483 TM 860 366

AUTHOR Jones, Gerald P.; Dembo, Myron H.
TITLE The Development of Friendship and Intimacy in Childhood and Adolescence.
PUB DATE Apr 86
NOTE 43p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (70th, San Francisco, CA, April 16-20, 1986).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adolescents; *Affective Measures; Androgyny; Children; Elementary Secondary Education; *Friendship; Higher Education; Interpersonal Competence; Peer Relationship; Personality Development; Prosocial Behavior; Self Concept; *Self Concept Measures; *Sex Differences; *Sex Role; Sex Stereotypes; Significant Others; Social Development
IDENTIFIERS Gender Role Assignment Scale; *Intimacy; Marcia Incomplete Sentences Blank; *Self Perception Inventory; Sharabany Intimate Friendship Scale

ABSTRACT

Intimacy as experienced in best friendships was studied with respect to sex differences and sex roles, the development of components of intimacy in childhood and adolescence, and the possible interrelationship of intimacy and ego identity. Instruments included items from: (1) The Self-Perception Inventory; (2) The Gender-Role Assignment Scale; (3) The Sharabany Intimate Friendship Scale; (4) Marcia Incomplete Sentences Blank; and (5) Sharabany Scale-Revised. Results from a sample of 218 individuals aged from 8 to 14 showed that some components of intimacy develop earlier than other components; and that traditional sex differences in intimacy are better explained as sex role differences in which females and androgynous males form a homogeneous high intimacy group, while sex-typed males score significantly lower. Sex-typed individuals also seem more likely than androgynous individuals to view aspects of friendship as appropriate for one sex over the other. Results from a sample of 52 college undergraduates suggest that high intimacy in pre-college years may be associated with high levels of ego identity at the end of adolescence. A six-page reference list is appended. (Author/PN)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED270483

The Development of Friendship and Intimacy in Childhood and Adolescence

Gerald P. Jones

Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society

and

Myron H. Dembo

Department of Educational Psychology and Technology

University of Southern California

Presented at the 1986 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

G. P. Jones

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

TM 860 366

Abstract

Intimacy as experienced in best friendships was studied with respect to sex differences and sex roles, the development of components of intimacy in childhood and adolescence, and the possible interrelationship of intimacy and ego identity. Results from a sample of 218 individuals aged 8 to 14 showed that some components of intimacy develop earlier than other components; and that traditional sex differences in intimacy are better explained as sex role differences in which females and androgynous males form a homogeneous high intimacy group, while sex-typed males score significantly lower. Sex-typed individuals also seem more likely than androgynous individuals to view aspects of friendship as appropriate for one sex over the other. Results from a sample of 52 college undergraduates suggest that high intimacy in pre-college years may be associated with high levels of ego identity at the end of adolescence.

The Development of Friendship and Intimacy in Childhood and Adolescence

Recent literature in the United States has reflected a growing interest in the nature and quality of intimate friendship, with more of this interest centering on the relationships among children and adolescents (Berndt, 1982). Until recently, "intimacy" has been used imprecisely as a synonym for many types of relationships, and use of the term "intimacy" in early social science literature seemed to focus only on marriage, or at least adult heterosexual romantic couples. Moreover, research into the nature and development of intimacy traditionally has centered on late adolescents and early adults who have passed through the "identity vs. identity diffusion" psychosocial crisis of adolescence, as postulated by Erikson (1968), while little attention has been given to studies of intimacy in younger populations.

Erikson (1963, 1968) specifically postulated that the central crisis of the developing human was identity vs. diffusion, and that adolescence was the time for this process to take place. After the development of identity it was possible to share oneself with another in the formation of intimate relationships, including, but not limited to, genital sexuality. Before the formation of identity, however, the person is not able to share and commit a self

which is not fully differentiated, and not fully understood.

Sullivan (1953ab), on the other hand, saw the beginnings of intimate relationship in preadolescence, roughly ages 8 to 10, in the same-sex relationship he called a "chumship." He maintains that there appears in what he terms "preadolescence" (around the age eight-and-a-half, and "sometimes decidedly later") a definite "need for interpersonal intimacy" (1953b, p. 246) which is qualitatively different from all friendships and associations prior to that age, and is related to later love and friendship relationships throughout life.

Perhaps because of Erikson's emphasis on the psychology of males and his apparent view of heterosexual orientation as normative, actual studies of intimacy traditionally have centered on Erikson's view that intimacy is possible only after the establishment of identity, therefore intimacy is the "task" of the young adult (Boyd & Koskela, 1970; Kacerguis & Adams, 1980; Orlofsky, 1978; Orlofsky, Marcia & Lesser, 1973). In fact, until the work of Bigelow and his associates (1975, 1977, 1980), Mannarino (1976, 1978ab, 1979, 1980) and Sharabany and her associates (1974, 1981), most researchers seemed to view childhood as a time when friendships were casual and relatively devoid of deeper meaning, and adolescence as a transitional period in which the characteristics of adult intimacy were first imitated

and then, gradually, experienced in later adolescence.

Now, the emerging picture is that intimate friendships can become a part of a person's experience beginning somewhere around middle childhood. It seems likely that intimacy, like other personality features, develops over a long period of time, and that it is not a single dynamic, but a collection of components that can be broken down and evaluated separately (La Gaipa, 1977; 1979; Sharabany, 1974; Sharabany, Gershoni & Hofman, 1981). Such components of intimacy, then, might be observable in the behavior of people long before adulthood, and possibly even before the formation of an integrated identity, as required in Erikson's scheme. The reasoning necessary for such a view may be present in the formulations of Sullivan, whose description of early intimacy (chumship) as a characteristic of preadolescence and as a prerequisite or facilitator of identity formation seems to explain the apparent contradiction.

Intimacy in the present study is defined as closeness to a best friend, as reflected in an individual's self-described knowledge of that friend's feelings, honesty with the friend, loyalty, willingness to share, enjoyment of companionship, trust, and attachment. Clear distinctions between intimate and non-intimate behavior are elusive, and are likely to remain so, due to the subjective nature of the

experience and a sort of "relativity" problem. It is rather like trying to define the point at which a growing person stops being "short" and begins to be "tall." For this reason, it is assumed that best friendships are intimate, and that a continuum from "low intimate" to "high intimate" is the appropriate distinction for the hypotheses to be tested.

The central purpose of this study is to clarify and extend the existing work on intimate friendships in childhood and adolescence, and to investigate at least one alternative direction for future research into sex differences in the experience of intimate behavior. To accomplish this purpose, four hypotheses are formulated.

Hypothesis 1 predicts that each component of intimacy --- and hence overall intimacy --- will increase from age 8 to 14. The test of this hypothesis expands Sharabany's work (1974; Sharabany, Gershoni & Hofman, 1981) by measuring intimacy over a developmental span, beginning at age 8, rather than 10, and filling in the ages represented by grades 6 and 8, which are not included in the Sharabany et al. (1981) developmental design.

Hypothesis 2 further analyzes apparent sex differences in intimacy with the prediction that sex-typed males will score lower in intimacy than all females, but androgynous males will show no such difference. Most studies of

intimacy, including those of intimate friendships in childhood and adolescence, find marked sex differences (Coleman, 1974; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Eder & Hallinan, 1978; Hodgson & Fischer, 1979; Lever, 1978; Mark & Alper, 1980). In general, studies have shown that at all levels of development females rate higher than males in intimacy and have more friendships characterized as intimate (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). It appears that females are consistently socialized to be more intimate, while males are socialized to compete and maintain individuality at the expense of intimacy.

It is important to note that the roles and socialization processes which lead to such behavior are not necessarily inherent in human nature. Mead (1935/1963) is but one of many anthropologists who have noted that sex roles are not so much innate as they are cultural, with some cultures such as the Tchambuli fostering sex roles that are diametrically opposed to typical Western roles. Because socialization patterns seem to be the basis for sex differences in intimacy, it seems the logical direction in further understanding such differences is to determine whether it is simply gender, or gender-role which affects the friendship behavior of children and adolescents.

The work of Sandra Bem (1974, 1977, 1981) has provided theoretical ideas which can guide such an inquiry. Her

formulation of psychological androgyny has been useful in identifying culturally-prescribed masculine-typed or feminine-typed behaviors and attitudes and the presence (or absence) of these in varying degrees in each individual.

Hypothesis 3 deals with another aspect of sex-typing in intimate friendship development, predicting that sex-typed individuals will tend to view friendship characteristics as being appropriate either for females only or for males only, while androgynous individuals will tend not to differentiate by sex. This hypothesis stems from Bem's (1984) Gender-Schema theory, which proposes that some children learn to view the world through "gender-colored glasses," and come to associate many variables of their existence with one gender or another to a greater or lesser extent. Specifically, sex-typed individuals tend more often to categorize their existence along gender lines (e.g., Masc., Fem.), while androgynous individuals tend not to do so. Undifferentiated individuals, according to Bem, are not as predictable, and need further study.

Hypothesis 4 deals with the relationship of identity and intimacy, predicting that college freshmen and sophomores (18-20 years of age) who are high in retrospective intimacy self-reports also will be high in identity status.

There are several studies in the literature which confirm Erikson's contention that identity precedes intimacy, but these studies typically employ subjects who, according to the theory, should have formed their identity and begun to deal with the Eriksonian "intimacy vs. isolation" crisis. In general, previous research fails even to acknowledge the possibility that at least some parts of adult intimacy may have been learned prior to, or concurrent with, the formation of identity. Most of the studies concentrate on showing that young adults high in Eriksonian identity are also high on Eriksonian intimacy (e.g., Kinsler, 1973; Orlofsky, Marcia & Lesser, 1973).

The expected correlation between identity and earlier intimate friendship would not in itself imply causality; moreover, the intimacy data are subject to problems of retrospective recall and selective bias on the part of the subjects. Nonetheless, it is still considered useful to investigate the relationship expected in hypothesis 4.

Method

Subjects

The "school" sample consists of 116 female and 102 male volunteers from 10 classrooms in a suburban unified school district near Los Angeles. Age of these subjects ranged from 8.5 years to 15.3 years, with a mean of 11.96; mean age

for females was 12.05 and for males was 11.85. For purposes of age-based analyses, subjects were assigned to six age groups from 9 to 14, with individuals between age 8.5 and 9.4 assigned to age group 9, those between 9.5 and 10.4 to age group 10, and so forth. The seven subjects older than 14.4 were omitted from age group analyses due to insufficient numbers compared to the other groups. Among age groups 9 through 14, the largest was age 12 (28 females, 20 males), and the smallest was age 9 (8 females, 10 males). Proportions of females to males in each group were approximately balanced, the largest imbalance being age 13, with 62% females (n = 21) and 38% males (n = 13).

The "college" sample consists of 25 female and 13 male volunteers, middle- to upper-middle class all college freshmen or sophomores aged 18 through 20 enrolled in psychology or gender-studies courses at a large, urban private university and a suburban community college.

Instruments

The Self Perception Inventory (SPI). This is a 60-item version of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1974; 1981) which was developed and validated for use with pre-adult individuals by Thomas and her colleagues (Thomas & Robinson, 1981; Thomas, 1983; S.J. Thomas, The Self Perception Inventory, personal communication, February 19,

1985). Instead of the BSRI's adjectives (to which the subject responds on a scale of one to seven as to how appropriate for the subject each adjective seems), the SPI presents children and adolescents with short statements, to which the individual responds never (like me), usually not, sometimes, usually, or always. Forty of the items are scored, with the other twenty functioning as filler or distractor items. Of the 40 scored items, 20 are reduced to a mean femininity score and 20 to a mean masculinity score in a manner identical to the BSRI (see Bem, 1981, for detailed scoring procedures). Each subject, whether male or female, receives both a femininity and a masculinity score.

This modification of the BSRI uses the same method specified by Bem (1977, 1981) for scoring and classification, namely a simple median-split technique. Using the sample as a whole (i.e., males and females together), one median is calculated for the femininity scale and one for the masculinity scale. Respondents who are above the median on either scale are classified as high on that scale, and those below the median are classified as low. If a person is high on both scales (masc and fem) that person is classified as androgynous; males who are high masc and low fem are sex-typed, and males who are low masc and high fem are cross-sex-typed; females who are high fem and low masc are sex-typed, and females who are low fem and high

masc are cross-sex-typed; individuals low in both categories are classified as undifferentiated.

One problem for the present study was that no previous study known to the investigator has used any form of the BSRI in a developmental design. All previous studies, therefore, have used a single set of two medians (one for fem and one for masc scales) to represent the entire sample. Because the medians across age groups 9 to 14 varied from 3.3 to 3.58, it became obvious that using the overall medians of 3.4 (coincidentally, the femininity and masculinity medians were identical) might distort the categorizations in several of the age groups, at least for this sample. In the absence of comparative data from larger samples, the decision was made to use separate medians for each age group. Further research with much larger samples will be needed to determine whether the differences in masculinity and femininity medians by age group justify the use of separate medians in developmental research.

The Gender-Role Assignment Scale (GRAS). In order to measure the tendency to classify characteristics of friendship as either female-appropriate or male-appropriate, subjects were asked to consider 32 sentence stems containing elements of intimate friendship, and to circle one of four choices printed under each item, thereby indicating whether they thought the items were appropriate for: girls, boys,

both boys and girls, or nobody. Items were developed by the investigator (Jones, 1985) after a search of the literature for issues associated with friendship and intimacy in child and adolescent populations. In addition, 13 items were derived from the eight components of the following instrument.

The Sharabany Intimate Friendship Scale. The Sharabany Scale (Sharabany, 1974) is a 64-item Likert-scaled questionnaire consisting of sentences descriptive of friendship. Half of the items are worded from the point of view of the subject (e.g., I like to do things with her), and the other half are the same questions worded from the point of view of the subject's best friend (e.g., She likes to do things with me). This split yields a "Self" and an "Other" subscale, respectively, consisting of 32 items each. The entire scale is further subdivided into eight components with eight items each (4 items worded for "Self" and 4 for "Other"). Components are 1) Frankness and Spontaneity, 2) Sensitivity and Knowing, 3) Attachment, 4) Exclusiveness, 5) Giving and Sharing, 6) Imposition, 7) Common Activities, and 8) Trust and Loyalty.

Reported reliability and validity data of both the complete Sharabany scale (1974) and the short form (self-referent items only) (Sharabany, Gershoni & Hofman, 1981) indicate considerable internal consistency and high

item-total and cluster (component)-total correlations.

Marcia Incomplete Sentences Blank (ISB). This instrument, as revised by the original author (J.E. Marcia, personal communication, March 13, 1985) is a series of 18 incomplete sentence stems which are made into complete sentences by the subject, adding words to make a "true" statement that describes herself or himself. The scale measures ego identity on a continuous scale. Responses were rated by three independent judges, one of whom was the investigator, according to criteria established by the author of the Incomplete Sentences Blank (Marcia, 1964). Each subject's score is derived from the mean of all ratings by all judges for each item.

Inter-rater reliability of the ISB was estimated by calculating the percent of total agreement on each item among the three judges and their total score correlations, the same methods used by Marcia (1964) in developing the instrument. The total number of items evaluated was 918 (51 subjects, 18 items each). Exact agreement among all three judges was found for 70% of the items. In only 12 instances (1% of the total items) did the raters disagree by more than one point. When comparing the raters in pairs (A with B, A with C, and B with C), each pair reached exact agreement on 80% of the items. This compares favorably with Marcia's (1964) results, which found the following agreements: A with

B, 78%; A with C, 74%; B with C, 72%.

Sharabany Scale (revised). Since this scale would be completed by the college sample for friends in each of three time periods (elementary, junior high and senior high), time and fatigue considerations led the investigator to reduce the scope of the scale. Half of the 64-item scale was omitted by using only the self-referent items (e.g., I can use her things without asking permission; I tell people nice things about him). This same technique for reducing the length of the scale was used by Sharabany, Gershoni and Hofman (1981), with reliability and validity data reported for the reduced (32-item) scale. The scale was modified further for the present study by omitting one item of the four associated with each of the eight components. The result was a manageable 24-item scale with three questions for each of the 8 components. The item to be deleted from each component was that item which, in the judgment of the investigator, either overlapped another item in the component or was less central to the component idea than the other three.

The final 24-item instrument was identical for each of the three time periods in which subjects were asked to recall one best friend. Each individual's intimacy score was calculated as the mean of all responses on all three questionnaires.

Reliability of the 24-item revised Sharabany scale was estimated by a split-halves analysis (odd numbered items compared with even) using the equal length Spearman-Brown formula. Since each subject completed the 24-item instrument three times, each for a different time period in her or his life, the analysis was performed separately for each time period: Elementary years (EL), Junior High years (JH) and Senior High years (SH). The Spearman-Brown calculation resulted in levels of correspondence between halves of .78 (EL), .94 (JH), and .86 (SH), indicating acceptable reliability for the shortened scale in each of the three retrospective time periods.

Validity of the 24-item reduced Sharabany scale was determined by calculating correlations between cluster (component) scores and total score at each of the three time periods, EL, JH and SH. In the present study, cluster-total correlations (eight clusters, three items per cluster) were as follows: EL ranged from .46 to .73, median .59; JH ranged from .63 to .87, median .77; and SH ranged from .42 to .84, median .72. Overall median correlation was .70. Considering the small sample (48 subjects) and the retrospective recall required in the subjects' responses, these ranges are acceptable; moreover, the comparison of the present study's median correlation of .70 with Sharabany's median of .75 indicates an acceptable level of validity for

the shortened form of the Intimate Friendship Scale.

Procedures

The School Sample. Two sessions were scheduled for each group of individuals to whom the questionnaires were to be administered. All sessions were conducted personally by the investigator, without assistants, and all items were read out loud by the investigator in all sessions, regardless of the age level of the subjects. Except for subjects' names and the names of their best friends, all answers were marked by drawing a circle around one of the answers printed in the booklets.

Subjects in the school sample provided demographic information (name, age, sex, school and grade), answered questions about their best friendships, and also completed three questionnaires. Two of the questionnaires (SPI, Sharabany Scale) were developed and previously used by other authors, and the third (GRAS) was developed by the investigator.

Booklets given to females contained female-specific pronouns (in the one questionnaire dealing with each person's best friendship), and booklets given to males contained male-specific pronouns. Differences in sex of pronouns were discussed only with those individuals who named an opposite sex best friend (9 out of the 218

subjects) and wanted to know how to mark their booklets. Such individuals were told to ignore the sex of the pronouns and answer each question as if it referred to their best friend, regardless of sex. In every other respect the questions and other information requested of the subjects were identical.

Questionnaires were administered to the school sample on two different days. At the end of Day 1, subjects were asked to write the name, sex, and age of their "first" and "second" best friends. On Day 2, usually about a week later, subjects were asked to identify their two best friends, as they did before, but were informed that these friends could be the same as before, or could be different people. Each time the subjects were asked to identify their two best friends, they first were given a definition of best friendship by the investigator, and were asked if they had any questions. After each testing session data were committed to computer and after all testing was completed, analysis was performed via SPSS-X.

The College Sample. Volunteers in the college sample also provided demographic information (age, sex, year in school), and completed two questionnaires (Marcia ISB, Sharabany scale [revised]), the latter of which was used three times --- once in reference to the subject's elementary school best friend, once for the junior high best

friend, and once for the senior high best friend. As was the case in the school sample, males were given booklets in which best friend questions were worded with male pronouns, and females were given booklets with female pronouns. The subjects were instructed to ignore the printed same-sex pronouns if their best friends were of the opposite sex. The only further demographic information was the sex and age of their best friend in each time period of their past: elementary, junior high and senior high.

The young adult volunteers were given no introduction to the study, and didn't know they would be involved in research until the session began. Consent forms, instructions and all data collection were completed in a single hour. Similar to the subjects in the school sample, these subjects were given full instructions and definitions of terms, as well as sample questions and a chance to ask questions.

All groups of both the school and college samples were given time for participants to ask any questions about the items or overall purpose of the study.

Results and Discussion

Development of Components of Intimacy

The data showed partial confirmation of the first hypothesis of the present research which predicted that each

intimacy component in the Sharabany Intimate Friendship scale (and hence overall intimacy) would increase between age 8 and 14. Overall intimacy means in the six age groups from 9 to 14, in order, were: 3.71, 4.01, 4.36, 4.22, 4.25 and 4.18. This progression shows the general pattern of rising to a peak at age group 11, followed by a leveling trend, a pattern which was evident also in many of the separate components.

All eight components showed overall increases in intimacy from beginning levels, but oneway ANOVAs performed on the intimacy means of each component by age group (9-14) reached significance only for Frankness and Spontaneity (component 1), $F(5, 190) = 3.432$, $p<.01$; Sensitivity and Knowing (component 2), $F(5, 190) = 5.255$, $p<.001$; and Exclusivity (component 4), $F(5, 190) = 2.943$, $p<.05$. Means for each component by age group are found in Table 1. It is believed that a larger sample size would be necessary for confirmation of the trends in the remaining five components.

Insert Table 1 about here

The most remarkable feature shown in Table 1 is the tendency of intimacy levels to peak at age 11. Even those in which the arithmetic peak is later show the largest jump at or before age 11, with later higher points being minor,

probably nonsignificant, fluctuations.

A summary of Table 1 can provide a somewhat detailed picture of how intimacy develops during childhood and early adolescence. Trust/Loyalty and Attachment arise during middle childhood, resulting in high levels as Sullivanian chumship begins (about age 8-1/2); Trust/Loyalty remains strong as an intimate friendship attribute, while Attachment dips in early adolescence, to return again later. Imposition/ Taking and Common Activities begin rather low and, while they do increase to age 11, they remain relatively low through adolescence. Sensitivity/ Knowing begins low, but increases dramatically and steadily to become one of the most salient friendship attributes at age 14. This is reasonable in light of the concurrent cognitive development of this age range. Giving/ Sharing and Exclusiveness rise to moderate levels in mid-childhood (around age 8), then become quite important in early adolescence with declines thereafter. This would seem to fit with the observations of Douvan and Adelson (1966), among others, that the intensity of adolescent friendships is often not equalled in adulthood. In general, the results of this study confirm previous developmental friendship studies. (See Sharabany, Gershoni & Hofman, 1981, for a comparison of her work with studies by Bigelow & La Gaipa, 1975, Bigelow, 1977, and Reisman and Shorr, 1978.)

Gender role and intimacy level differences

Virtually all studies which report sex differences in friendship and intimacy indicate that males score lower on these variables than females. Hypothesis 2 in the present investigation predicted that sex-typed males --- not males in general --- would be "responsible" for such apparent sex inequality, while androgynous males would score equally high with all females, androgynous as well as sex-typed. This prediction was solidly confirmed.

A oneway ANOVA was calculated on intimacy scores of 47 sex-typed males (M = 3.96), 16 androgynous males (M = 4.5), and 86 sex-typed and androgynous females (Ms 4.36 and 4.59 respectively, combined M = 4.45) and significant differences were found, $F(2, 146) = 8.553$, $p<.001$. Post-hoc comparisons (Scheffe = .05) revealed that there were no differences between females and androgynous males, but that sex-typed males were significantly lower than these other groups. A t test of intimacy mean differences between the 47 sex-typed males (M = 3.96) and the 102 subjects in the three other groups combined (androgynous males, androgynous and sex-typed females, M = 4.46) showed sex-typed males significantly lower in intimacy, $t(147) = 4.14$, $p<.001$. Because of low N, cross-sex-typed females and males were excluded from these analyses. Undifferentiated individuals

also were excluded because of the lack of consistent findings in the literature regarding these subjects (Bem 1984).

Gender role analysis by intimacy component. A breakdown of the overall intimacy score into the eight components allows a further analysis of relative intimacy levels of the gender role categories. Means by gender role category for each component are found in Table 2. T tests which compared means of sex-typed males with means of the other three groups combined (sex-typed females and androgynous females and males) revealed that sex-typed males were lower than the others on every one of the eight components. Summaries of these t tests also are reported in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

As noted above, results of previous research consistently have shown that males score lower than females in intimacy measures at all developmental levels tested. Although it was the purpose, in part, to break down and analyze further this reported sex difference, the present study does confirm the previous research, as shown in a t test of the entire sample. A comparison of intimacy levels revealed a significant difference between the 93 males (M =

3.95) and the 109 females (M = 4.39), $t(200) = 4.19$, $p<.001$, confirming the general findings of previous studies.

The design of the present study, however, also permits a developmental analysis of how this sex difference may change across age groups 9 through 14. Figure 1 displays this progression graphically.

Insert Figure 1 about here

No differences were significant until age 11, at which point females jumped dramatically ahead of males and remained significantly higher through age 12 (age 11: 21 females [M = 4.62], 21 males [M = 4.09], $t[40] = 2.46$, $p<.01$; age 12: 25 females, [M = 4.41], 16 males [M = 3.92], $t[39] = 1.93$, $p<.05$). At age 13, however, females regressed slightly and males increased substantially, closing the gap again. Finally, at age 14, females rise to their highest level and males drop to their lowest, the difference once again reaching significance (23 females [M = 4.62], 18 males [M = 3.63], $t[39] = 4.83$, $p<.001$).

Gender Schematicity

It was predicted that sex typed individuals would be more likely than androgynous individuals to categorize elements of friendship and intimacy as feminine or

masculine. The data indicate that such is the case.

Results of the Gender Role Assignment Scale (GRAS) were examined first by tabulating the number of responses in each of the four possible categories: Girls, Boys, Both Boys and Girls, or Nobody. Nine items contained more than 80% of all responses in the Both category and were deleted from this analysis as being "Neutral." One additional item was deleted because of the high percentage of Nobody responses (19%) which, combined with the Both responses (62%) also exceeded the 80% criterion as a "Neutral" item.

Twenty four items were selected as having enough variability between Girls/Boys responses vs. Both Boys and Girls responses to be valuable in this analysis of sex-typing patterns. The next step of the analysis was a 2 x 2 crosstabulation of subjects' responses (rows) by classification of the subjects themselves (columns): row 1 was assigned to androgynous and row 2 to sex-typed individuals; column 1 was assigned to "sex-typed" responses (i.e., designation of the item by the subject as appropriate either for Girls or Boys) and column 2 was assigned to the "Neutral" responses (Both Boys and Girls).

The 2 x 2 contingency tables for each item revealed that 23 of the 24 items showed a tendency toward sex-typed individuals giving sex-typed responses. Item 17 was the only one with an opposite trend of androgynous individuals

more likely to give Girls or Boys responses, as opposed to Both. This was the item that stated, "Children who hold hands with their best friend are probably . . ." (This was seen as appropriate for Girls by 31.3% of respondents, Boys 3.7%, Both 32.5, and Nobody 31.1%.) More androgynous individuals were in the Girls or Boys categories, as well as the Nobody category, while there were more sex-typed individuals giving the Both Boys and Girls response, the exact reverse of every other item.

An aggregate test of significance for the group of items was performed by collapsing the responses of all 24 items into a single 2 x 2 table. Results revealed a highly significant relationship between subject classification (sex-typed vs. androgynous) and response type (appropriate for Girls or Boys vs. appropriate for Both) (Chi-square [1, $N = 3399$] = 36.59, $p<.001$; Phi = .104).

In general, the results of the GRAS were quite consistent with expectations (derived from statements in the literature and some results in the present study) as to which items would be considered appropriate for females (labeled F) and which would be thought appropriate for males (labeled M). The picture of friendships of girls and boys seems quite familiar, even in a quick summary of the items labeled F as compared with those labeled M. Behaviors thought appropriate for girls' friendships included: missing

friends when they're not around; physical contact (arms around, holding hands); sharing; knowing and caring about each others feelings; looking and smiling; worrying about losing; honesty and sharing emotions (crying). Behaviors considered appropriate for boys' friendships included: wrestling; competition; (verbally) defending friends; getting angry with friends; and interrupting. Of course, once again it is important to note that by far the most frequent response was Both, indicating that most subjects consider most items appropriate for anyone's friendship, except for the four items rated less than 40% Both: wrestling for fun (item 3), arms around friends (8), holding hands (17), and crying (30).

Interrelationship of Intimacy and Ego Identity

The final hypothesis proposed that high ego-identity scores would correspond to high recalled (i.e., previous) intimacy levels, as measured in early college-age individuals. This expectation was marginally confirmed. A Pearson correlation between intimacy scores and identity scores was .31 (p = .058), a moderate correlation which approached significance. Since the group was rather small (n = 38) and the correlation moderate, a t test also was performed by splitting the identity scores at the median (36.0) creating two groups: LO identity and HI identity

(n = 19, each group). The difference between these two groups on the intimacy variable was significant with the HI identity subjects scoring higher in intimacy (M = 5.07) and the LO identity subjects scoring lower (M = 4.72), $t(36)$ = -1.96, $p<.05$, one-tailed test.

Unfortunately, it is not feasible to rule out the possibility that in this sample other variables might have influenced the outcome in unknown ways. On the one hand, it would be reasonable to expect a sex difference in intimacy, similar to that found elsewhere in this study and throughout the literature. While there was a leaning in the direction of females in this sample being more intimate, males were apparently higher than usual on this variable and the male/female difference only approached significance, $t(36)$ = 1.65, p = .108.

On the other hand, a t test of 25 females vs. 13 males on the identity variable did show a significant difference, with females (M = 37.07) higher than males (M = 34.10), $t(36)$ = 2.52, $p<.05$. Because the early-college age of the present subjects represents somewhat of a transition stage, there is some support for higher identity scores for females in the work of Bourne (1978), and in Fitch and Adams (1983), when occupational identity (more typical of males) is compared with religious identity (more typical of females). Actually, it is not possible to compare the identity results

in the present work directly with the results of previous literature, as there are no studies known to the investigator which use a single identity score (such as that derived from the Incomplete Sentences Blank, as used here). Most other studies of identity have used the five-status identity interview format developed by Marcia (1964, 1966, 1976) which classifies subjects without yielding a total score.

The inconsistent findings of the present research with regard to relative statuses of males and females on intimacy and identity variables may be due in part to the nearly 2:1 ratio of females (n = 25) to males (n = 13). There were no differences in this sample due to class (freshman vs. sophomore) on either identity or intimacy.

Summary and Implications for Future Research

A number of important findings were reported in the present investigation. First, it was found that intimacy component means increase over the range of age 8 to 14, though some components follow non-linear trends and only three component increases reached significance. Second, traditional sex differences in intimacy were re-analyzed showing that girls are more intimate than boys, but it was only sex-typed boys who were lower; androgynous boys scored

equally high with sex-typed and androgynous girls. Third, it was shown that sex-typed individuals (both male and female) tend to view their own friendships, and friendships in general, through "gender-colored glasses," in that they were more likely than androgynous individuals to label friendship characteristics either as appropriate for girls or for boys; androgynous individuals were more likely to label friendship characteristics as appropriate for both girls and boys. Finally, it was shown tentatively that recalled intimacy in childhood and adolescence was high in college students who had a well-developed ego identity level, and recalled intimacy was low in low-identity subjects.

The study has confirmed and extended previous findings that intimacy develops in the same sex best friendships of childhood and stabilizes somewhat in middle adolescence. Some components of intimacy are apparently more salient than others. Future research should investigate the possibility that other components of friendship, such as the physical contact involved in putting arms around a friend, or accuracy of one's knowledge about a best friend's feelings, might be added to the eight components now in the Sharabany scale. Also, it is time for a longitudinal design in studies of the development of intimacy and its components.

The study also has begun the inquiry into the possible interrelationship of intimacy and identity development during childhood and adolescence. Further study is needed to determine the specific contribution of intimacy to identity, or vice versa, and to learn more about how this interaction might be facilitated, especially for individuals whose identity or intimacy (or both) might be developing in less than optimal ways. Special care must be given, for example, to recognize possible female and male differences in this development, to ensure that where such differences exist investigators avoid past mistakes of labeling one developmental path as "normal" (typically the male path), and all others somehow less than normal. Moreover, the use of euphemisms for "normal" such as "optimal" or "functional" must not be allowed to obscure or to compromise the non-judgmental evaluation of any basic, essentially equal differences in identity and intimacy development.

Finally, and most importantly, the present investigation clearly has shown that sex-typed males are at a disadvantage with regard to intimacy development, when compared to androgynous males and all females (i.e., both sex-typed and androgynous). This disadvantage, however, does not seem to arise until age 11, when males in general for the first time show significantly lower intimacy levels than females.

Perhaps the most obvious follow-up to the present study is a replication with late adolescent and young adult subjects of the portion in which intimate friendship levels are analyzed according to gender role differences, rather than simple sex differences. If the finding holds true, that sex-typed males are lower than females in intimacy but androgynous males are not, then the results of all previous studies in which females have been found to be higher than males on measures of intimacy are called into question. Whether or not the finding holds true, it would be useful to initiate longitudinal research which begins in childhood with subjects in gender role categories and traces both their gender role development (some individuals change from one category to another over time) and th r intimacy development. In such research particular attention should be paid to androgynous males and to how they compare over time with sex-typed males and with females.

Friendships are valuable enterprises which both derive from and contribute to a strong, healthy society. When they are mutual and constructive, intimate friendships become an integral part of individual and group functioning, and should be encouraged in whatever form, in whatever configuration they naturally emerge. If the present study has shown that some friendships might be better if rigid, unrealistic social expectations were less influential,

specifically in sex-typed males, it would seem the time is right for further research to better define --- and begin to fill --- this important social need.

References

Bem, S.L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42, 155-162.

Bem, S.L. (1977). On the utility of alternative procedures of assessing psychological androgyny. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 45, 196-205.

Bem, S.L. (1981). The Bem Sex-Role Inventory Professional Manual. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Bem, S.L. (1984) Androgyny and gender schema theory: A conceptual and empirical integration. In T.B. Sonderegger (Ed.), Nebraska Symposium on Motivation: Psychology and Gender. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Berndt, T.J. (1982). The features and effects of friendship in early adolescence. Child Development, 53, 1447-1460.

Bigelow, B.J. (1977). Children's friendship expectations: A cognitive-developmental study. Child Development, 48, 246-253.

Bigelow, B.J., & LaGaipa, J.J. (1975). Children's written descriptions of friendship: A multidimensional analysis. Developmental Psychology, 11, 857-858.

Bigelow, B.J, & LaGaipa, J.J. (1980). The development of children's friendships. In H.C. Foot, A.J. Chapman &

J.R. Smith, Friendship and Social Relations in Children (pp. 45-64). New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Bourne, E. (1978). The state of research on ego identity: A review and appraisal. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 7, Part I: 223-251; Part II: 371-392.

Boyd, R.D., & Koskela, R.N. (1970). A test of Erikson's theory of ego-stage development by means of a self-report instrument. Journal of Experimental Education, 38, (3), 1-14.

Coleman, J.C. (1974). Relationships in Adolescence. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Douvan, E., & Adelson, J. (1966). The Adolescent Experience. New York: Wiley.

Eder, D., & Hallinan, M.T. (1978). Sex differences in children's friendships. American Sociological Review, 43, 237-250.

Erikson, E.H. (1963). Childhood and Society. New York: W.W. Norton.

Erikson, E.H. (1968). Identity: Youth and Crisis. New York: W.W. Norton.

Fitch, S.A., & Adams, G.R. (1983). Ego identity and intimacy status: Replication and extension. Developmental Psychology, 19, 839-845.

Hodgson, J.W., & Fischer, J.L. (1979). Sex differences in identity and intimacy development in college youth.

Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 8, 37-50.

Jones, G.P. (1985). The Development of Intimate Friendship in Childhood and Adolescence. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

Kacerguis, M.A., & Adams, G.R. (1980). Erikson stage resolution: The relationship between identity and intimacy. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 9, (2), 117-126.

Kinsler, P.J. (1973). Ego identity status and intimacy. Dissertation Abstracts International, 33, 3946B.

La Gaipa, J.J. (1977). Testing a multidimensional approach to friendship. In S. Duck (Ed.), Theory and Practice in Interpersonal Attraction. London: Academic Press.

La Gaipa, J.J. (1979). A developmental study of the meaning of friendship in adolescence. Journal of Adolescence, 2, 201-213.

Lever, J. (1978). Sex differences in the complexity of children's play and games. American Sociological Review, 43, 471-483.

Maccoby, E.E., & Jacklin, C.N. (1974). The Psychology of Sex Differences. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Mannarino, A.P. (1976). Friendship patterns and altruistic behavior in preadolescent males. Developmental

Psychology, 12, 555-556.

Mannarino, A.P. (1978a). Friendship patterns and self-concept development in preadolescent males. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 133, 105-110.

Mannarino, A.P. (1978b). The interactional process in preadolescent friendships. Psychiatry, 41, 308-312.

Mannarino, A.P. (1979). The relationship between friendship and altruism in adolescent girls. Psychiatry, 42, 280-284.

Mannarino, A.P. (1980). The development of children's friendships. In H.C. Foot, A.J. Chapman & J.R. Smith (Eds.), Friendship and Social Relations in Children (pp. 45-64). New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Marcia, J.E. (1964). Determination and construct validity of ego identity status. Dissertation Abstracts International, 25, 6763. (University Microfilms No. 65-5606).

Marcia, J.E. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3, 551-558.

Marcia, J.E. (1976). Identity six years after: A follow-up study. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 5, 145-160.

Mark, E.W., & Alper, T.G. (1980). Sex differences in intimacy motivation. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 5, 164-169.

Mead, M. (1963). Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies. New York: William Morrow and Co. (Original work published 1935, Second edition, 1950).

Orlofsky, J.L. (1978). The relationship between intimacy status and antecedent personality components. Adolescence, 13, 419-441.

Orlofsky, J.L., Marcia, J.E., & Lesser, I.M. (1973). Ego identity status and the intimacy versus isolation crisis of young adulthood. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 27, 211-219.

Reisman, J.M., & Shorr, S.I. (1978). Friendship claims and expectations among children and adults. Child Development, 49, 913-916.

Sharabany, R. (1974). Intimate friendship among kibbutz and city children and its measurement. Dissertation Abstracts International, 35, 1028B-1029B. (University Microfilms No. 74-17,682).

Sharabany, R., Gershoni, R. & Hofman, J.E. (1981). Girlfriend, boyfriend: Age and sex differences in intimate friendship. Developmental Psychology, 17, 800-808.

Sullivan, H.S. (1953a). Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry. New York: W.W. Norton.

Sullivan, H.S. (1953b). The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry. New York: W.W. Norton.

Thomas, S.J. (1983, April). Providing a concrete context for sex role endosement (sic) in adolescents: Some measurement considerations. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal.

Thomas, S., & Robinson, M. (1981). Development of a measure of androgyny for young adolescents. Journal of Early Adolescence, 1, 195-209.

Table 1

Intimacy Component Means by Age Group

Component Name	Age Groups 9	10	11	12	13	14
n=	16	24	42	41	32	41
1. Frank/Spontan	3.45	3.90	4.27	4.24	4.36	4.44[ab]
2. Sens/Knowing	3.30	3.88	4.43[b]	4.48	4.55[a]	4.48
3. Attachment	4.20	4.23	4.64[a]	4.18	4.45	4.24
4. Exclusiveness	3.63	3.74	4.15[a]	3.87	3.80	3.49[c]
5. Giving/Sharing	3.87	4.24	4.47[a]	4.34	4.34	4.35
6. Impos/Taking	3.52	3.87	4.15[a]	4.00	3.98	3.95
7. Common Activ	3.46	3.59	3.90	3.92[a]	3.68	3.73
8. Trust/Loyalty	4.25	4.60	4.86[a]	4.70	4.83	4.75

[a]Highest (peak) level for each component

[b]Significantly higher ($p<.05$) than age group 9

[c]Significantly lower ($p<.05$) than age group 11

Table 2

Means and T Test Results by Intimacy Component

Component	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Androgynous								
Females	4.73	4.80	4.72	3.97	4.77	4.41	4.17	5.18
Males	4.46	4.69	4.78	4.22	4.62	4.18	4.00	5.04
Sex-typed								
Females	4.38	4.58	4.59	3.88	4.55	4.07	3.81	4.97
Males	3.92	4.01	3.98	3.64	4.14	3.80	3.61	4.55
$t(147)$ =	3.95	4.07	4.33	2.23	3.53	2.82	2.42	3.83
p =	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.05	<.005	<.01	<.05	<.001

Note. T tests compare sex-typed males (n = 47) with all others combined (n = 102). Components are: 1) Frankness and Spontaneity, 2) Sensitivity and Knowing, 3) Attachment, 4) Exclusiveness, 5) Giving and Sharing, 6) Imposition and Taking, 7) Common Activities, and 8) Trust and Loyalty.

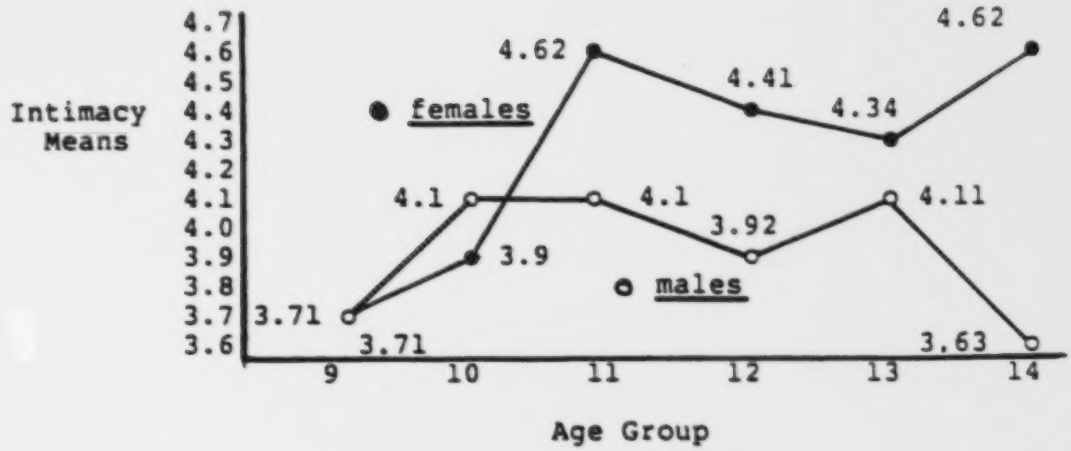

Figure 1. Sex Differences in Intimacy Between age 9 and 14

Note. Differences between females and males were significant only in age groups 11, 12 and 14.